

## Message Text

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SS-15 USIA-06 DHA-02 ACDA-07 EB-07 TRSE-00 AGRE-00  
OMB-01 /082 W  
-----070150Z 087631 /63

R 061725Z JUN 77  
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8299  
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
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E. O. 11652: N/A  
TAGS: PINT, PGOV, ECON, UR  
SUBJECT: BREZHNEV ON NEW SOVIET DRAFT CONSTITUTION

REFS: A. MOSCOW 7916, B. MOSCOW 7291 NOTAL

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1. SUMMARY. WE HAVE SENT SEPTTEL OUR COMMENTS ON BREZHNEV'S  
MAY 24 SPEECH TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM. FOR LATERAL  
POSTS, WHICH MAY NOT HAVE ACCESS TO THE FULL TEXT, WE PROVIDE  
THIS SUMMARY OF THE SPEECH ITSELF. BREZHNEV'S SPEECH IS THE  
AUTHORITATIVE, OFFICIAL INTERPRETATION OF THE NEW DRAFT  
CONSTITUTION. CHARACTERIZING THE SOVIET UNION AS A DEVELOPED,  
MATURE, SOCIALIST SOCIETY, BREZHNEV SAYS NEW

CONSTITUTION REFLECTS PAST ACHIEVEMENTS IN BUILDING SOCIALISM AND PROVIDES THE BASIS FOR THE NEXT STAGE, THE BUILDING OF COMMUNISM. PROVIDING LITTLE CONCRETE DETAIL, BREZHNEV'S SPEECH STRESSES PARTICIPATION BY THE PEOPLE IN THEIR OWN GOVERNMENT AND ATTEMPTS TO RESOLVE THE DICHOTOMY BETWEEN CENTRALIZED DIRECTION AND LOCAL INITIATIVE IN THE ECONOMY AND ADMINISTRATION. "SOCIALIST LEGALITY" AND LAW AND ORDER ARE HIGHLIGHTED, INCLUDING LIMITS ON THE EXERCISE OF ARBITRARY POWER. IN A NOTEWORTHY, BRIEF PASSAGE BREZHNEV COMMENTS ON THE ILLEGAL REPRESSION AND VIOLATION OF THE PRINCIPLES OF "SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY" WHICH FOLLOWED THE ADOPTION OF THE 1936 CONSTITUTION (THE GREAT PURGE). HE PROMISES THAT THIS WILL NOT HAPPEN AGAIN. BREZHNEV'S LISTING OF CHANGES DID NOT INCLUDE THE NEW FIRST DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF THE PRESIDUM OF THE SUPREME SOVIET. BREZHNEV EXPLAINS THE INCLUSION IN THE NEW DRAFT OF SECTIONS ON FOREIGN POLICY AND DEFENSE. END SUMMARY.

2. THE SOVIET CENTRAL PRESS FOR JUNE 5 CARRIES THE TEXT OF BREZHNEV'S SPEECH TO THE CPSU CC PLENUM MAY 24 (REF B). THE PUBLICATION FOLLOWS THAT OF THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION (REF A), BY ONLY ONE DAY AND IS CLEARLY INTENDED TO PROVIDE THE FRAMEWORK FOR NATIONWIDE DISCUSSION. BREZHNEV OBSERVES THAT THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SITUATION OF THE SOVIET UNION IS ENTIRELY CHANGED FROM 1936 WHEN THE LAST CONSTITUTION WAS ADOPTED. THAT CONSTITUTION PROVIDED THE BASIS FOR BUILDING SOCIALISM. THAT STAGE IS OVER AND THE NEW CONSTITUTION REFLECTS THE SOVIET UNION AS IT BEGINS LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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TO BUILD COMMUNISM. BREZHNEV OBSERVES THAT MANUAL AND OTHER WORKERS ARE NOW NEARLY INDISTINGUISHABLE. UNLIKE THE CASE IN 1936, THE PEASANTRY HAS BEEN BROUGHT UP UNDER SOCIALIST AGRICULTURE. THE ECONOMIES OF THE VARIOUS UNION REPUBLICS HAVE GREATLY DEVELOPED AND ARE MORE NEARLY EQUAL IN DEVELOPMENT. A "SOVIET SOCIETY" AND "SOVIET PEOPLE" HAVE BEEN CREATED. THE IMPORTANCE AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY HAVE GREATLY INCREASED. THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION HAS CHANGED; THE SOVIET UNION IS NO LONGER ENCIRCLED BY CAPITALIST STATES. THE TIME HAS COME TO ESTABLISH THE MATERIAL AND TECHNICAL BASIS FOR COMMUNISM, SAYS BREZHNEV, AND TO TURN THE PRESENT SOCIALIST SOCIETY INTO A COMMUNIST ONE.

3. BREZHNEV NOTES THAT DRAFTING THE NEW CONSTITUTION HAS GONE ON FOR A LONG TIME, AND, AS LENIN SAID, IT IS BOTH A LEGAL AND POLITICAL DOCUMENT. PREVIOUS CONSTITUTIONS WERE APPROPRIATE FOR THE THEN STAGES OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AS THE NEW ONE WILL BE FOR ITS STAGE. WHILE A GREAT

DEAL OF THE LANGUAGE OF THE 1936 CONSTITUTION IS IN THE NEW DRAFT, MANY CHANGES IN SOVIET LAW AND THE CHARACTER OF SOVIET DEVELOPMENT ARE REFLECTED IN IT. THE EXPERIENCES OF SEVERAL SOCIALIST COUNTRIES WHICH HAVE RECENTLY ADOPTED NEW CONSTITUTIONS IS ALSO RELEVANT.

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OMB-01 /082 W

-----070150Z 091151 /63

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4. BREZHNEV THEN LISTS AND EXPLAINS THE IMPORTANT CHANGES IN THE NEW DRAFT. HE OBSERVES THAT THE LEADING ROLE OF THE PARTY RECEIVES MUCH MORE ATTENTION SINCE A SPECIAL ARTICLE IS DEVOTED TO IT. THE SOVIET UNION IS NOW A STATE OF ALL THE PEOPLE LIVING IN THE USSR AND THE PRESENT CONSTITUTION REFLECTS THAT BY CHANGING THE

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FORMER "WORKER'S" SOVIETS INTO "PEOPLES'S" SOVIETS. THE ROLE OF THE SOVIETS IN THE RUNNING OF THE STATE HAS BEEN GREATLY STRENGTHENED. SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY RECEIVES FAR MORE EMPHASIS IN THIS CONSTITUTION THAN IN THE LAST ONE. IN ORDER TO IMPROVE ADMINISTRATION, THE COMPETENCE OF THE SOVIETS HAS BEEN INCREASED AND THE AGE FOR ELECTION TO THEM LOWERED. THE LEADING ROLE OF THE TRADE UNIONS, KOMSOMOLS, COOPERATIVES AND OTHER MASS ORGANIZATIONS IS STATED IN THE NEW CONSTITUTION. AN EXAMPLE OF CHANGES IN THE ECONOMIC SYSTEM IS THE MENTION IN THE DRAFT OF A NEW FORM OF SOCIALIST PROPERTY TO BE OWNED BY SUCH ENTITIES.

5. THE NEW CONSTITUTION PROVIDES FOR A FAR GREATER EMPHASIS ON HUMAN RIGHTS, SAYS BREZHNEV. THE SECTION CALLS FOR EQUALITY BETWEEN SEXES AND BETWEEN DIFFERENT NATIONALITIES. THE SECTION ON ECONOMIC RIGHTS IS GREATLY EXPANDED AND MORE DETAIL IS GIVEN ON THEM. SOME NEW RIGHTS, E.G. HOUSING, ARE SPECIFICALLY MENTIONED. POLITICAL RIGHTS AND CIVIL LIBERTIES RECEIVE FULLER TREATMENT IN THIS CONSTITUTION, ALTHOUGH THEIR EXERCISE MUST NOT BE AGAINST THE SOCIAL SYSTEM NOR CONTRARY TO THE INTEREST OF THE SOVIET PEOPLE. EACH CITIZEN MUST UNDERSTAND THAT RIGHTS BRING WITH THEM RESPONSIBILITIES, AND THESE OBLIGATIONS, NOTES BREZHNEV, ARE ALSO DETAILED.

6. A NEW CHAPTER ON SOCIALIST DEVELOPMENT AND CULTURE IS NECESSARY BECAUSE OF THE ELIMINATION OF DIFFERENCES BETWEEN TOWN AND COUNTRY, INTELLECTUAL AND PHYSICAL WORK, AND THE DESIRE TO INCREASE SOCIALIST UNITY.

7. BREZHNEV OBSERVES THAT THE CONSTITUTION GREATLY STRENGTHENS SOCIALIST LEGALITY. IN THIS CONNECTION, HE STATES THAT A FEW YEARS AFTER THE 1936 CONSTITUTION WAS ADOPTED THERE WAS "ILLEGAL REPRESSION, VIOLATIONS OF THE PRINCIPLES OF SOVIET DEMOCRACY AND THE LENINIST NORMS OF PARTY AND STATE AND LIFE." ALL THIS DESPITE CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS  
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AGAINST IT. THE PARTY CONDEMNED THESE VIOLATIONS WHICH MUST NEVER HAPPEN AGAIN. PARTY AND STATE ORGANS PROVIDE A GUARANTEE AGAINST VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS, MISUSE OF AUTHORITY AND BUREAUCRATIC EXCESSES. ALL STATE ORGANS AND RESPONSIBLE OFFICIALS, SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CITIZENS MUST OBEY THE CONSTITUTION AND THE LAW.

8. BREZHNEV NOTES THE MULTINATIONAL CHARACTER OF THE SOVIET STATE, SAYS IT WORKS WELL AND THAT THERE IS NOT NEED TO CHANGE IT. THE NEW CONSTITUTION PROVIDES FOR GREATER INITIATIVE TO BE TAKEN AT UNION REPUBLIC LEVELS. IN ORDER TO REFLECT THE INCREASING "SOVIET" CHARACTER OF THE COUNTRY, THE CONSTITUTION REFERS TO IT AS A UNITED, MULTINATIONAL ONE.

9. THE CONSTITUTION CONTAINS PROVISIONS RELEVANT TO THE PRESENT ECONOMIC STAGE, THE USSR HAS BECOME A SINGLE ECONOMIC COMPLEX, DIRECTED CENTRALLY, BUT WHICH NEVERTHELESS PROVIDES APPROPRIATE INITIATIVE AND AUTONOMY AT THE FACTORY LEVEL.

10. THE NEW CONSTITUTION CONTAINS MORE PRECISE DETAILS ON THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE GOVERNMENT AUTHORITIES BUT DOES NOT, USAYS BREZHNEV, LIST INDIVIDUAL MINISTRIES IN ORDER TO MAKE IT EASIER TO REORGANIZE THE ADMINISTRATIVE APPARATUS.

11. FOR THE FIRST TIME, THE NEW CONSTITUTION CONTAINS SECTIONS ON FOREIGN POLICY AND DEFENSE. THE FUNDAMENTAL STRENGTHENING OF THE SOVIET POSITION IN THE WORLD MAKES THIS APPROPRIATE. THE LENINST POLICY OF PEACE AND INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION IS MENTIONED, THE NEW CONSTITUTION NOTES THE STRENGTHENED POSITION OF SOCIALISM IN THE WORLD, SUPPORTS NATIONAL LIBERATION, AVOIDS WAR AND FAVORS PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE. FOR THE FIRST TIME IT IS MENTIONED THAT THE SOVIET UNION IS AN LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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INTEGRAL PART OF THE WORLD SOCIALIST SYSTEM AND A MEMBER OF THE SOCIALIST COMMONWEALTH. IT DEVELOPS AND STRENGTHENS FRIENDSHIP, COOPERATION AND COMRADELY MUTUAL AID ON THE BASIS OF SOCIALIST INTERNATIONALISM. IN THE DEFENSE SECTION, BREZHNEV NOTES THAT FOR THE FIRST TIME THE ROLE OF THE PRESIDUM OF THE SUPREME SOVIET IN CONNECTION WITH THE DEFENSE COUNCIL IS MENTIONED.

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12. BREZHNEV THEN TURNS TO THE MEANING OF THE NEW CONSTITUTION WHICH HE SAID SHOULD IMPROVE THE COORDINATION OF STATE AND ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES. MEMBERS OF SOVIETS MUST DO MORE TO CONTROL THE ECONOMIC AND ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATIONS FOR WHOSE ACTIVITIES THEY ARE RESPONSIBLE. COMMENTING ON SOVIET LAW, BREZHNEV STATED THAT MUCH LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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REMAINED TO BE DONE. HE NOTED THAT THE CONSTITUTION WILL BE THE HEART OF THE NEW LAW CODE. ALL OF THE JUDICIAL ORGANIZATIONS MENTIONED IN THE CONSTITUTION MUST IMPROVE THEIR WORK. THE PARTY EXPECTS JUDICIAL ORGANIZATIONS TO TAKE GREATER INITIATIVE AND BE MORE "PRINCIPLED " IN THEIR ACTIVITIES.

13. THE CONSTITUTION ALLOWS FOR FURTHER IMPROVEMENTS IN ECONOMIC AND GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION. DECISIONS OF ALL EXECUTIVE AND LEGISLATIVE ORGANIZATIONS MUST BE MADE

IN ACCORDANCE WITH IT. ALTHOUGH THE CENTRALIZED DIRECTION OF THE ECONOMY IS THE CORRECT WAY, MORE LOCAL INITIATIVE AND GREATER WORKER PARTICIPATION SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED.

14. BREZHNEV QUOTES LENIN TO THE EFFECT THAT THE CONSTITUTION SERVES THE BUILDING OF SOCIALISM. WERE HE STILL ALIVE, SAYS BREZHNEV, HE WOULD ADD THAT IT NOW SERVES THE BUILDING OF COMMUNISM. THE CONSTITUTION SHOWS SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY IN ACTION, HOW THE MASSES PARTICIPATE IN THEIR GOVERNMENT, HOW THE STATE EXISTS TO DEVELOP THE ECONOMIC WELL-BEING OF ALL PEOPLE WITHOUT CLASS DISTINCTION. THE SOVIET UNION IS THE FIRST SOCIALIST STATE. IT PROVIDES AN EXAMPLE FOR NEW STATES THAT HAVE CHOSEN SOCIALISM. THE "FULL" AND "REAL" RIGHTS GIVEN IN THE SOVIET CONSTITUTION STAND IN OPPOSITION TO THE FALSE CHARGES WHICH BOURGEOIS AND REVISIONIST PROPAGANDA MAKES ABOUT US.

15. BREZHNEV CONCLUDES HIS SPEECH WITH AN EXPLANATION OF THE NECESSITY FOR WIDES POSSIBLE DISCUSSION OF THE NEW DRAFT. HE STATES THAT THE NEW CONSTITUTION IS ORGANICALLY LINKED TO THE CELEBRATION OF THE 60TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION AND EMPHASIZES THE ROLE OF THE PARTY IN RESPONDING APPROPRIATELY TO SUGGESTIONS AND CRITICISM ON IT. THE VERY DISCUSSION OF THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION IS IMPORTANT LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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FOR ALL ORGANIZATIONS AND CADRES, INVOLVING THE MASS MEDIA AND THE PARTY AT ALL LEVELS.  
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## Message Attributes

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**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
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**Review Markings:**  
Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
22 May 2009  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009